

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 YAOUND 04314 01 OF 02 301947Z

44

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 064591

O R 301730Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7422

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 YAOUNDE 4314

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, CM, US

SUBJECT: ANGOLA: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE'S DISCUSSION WITH
AHIDJO

1. SUMMARY. DURING 55-MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT AHIDJO, AT WHICH AMB SPIRO WAS ONLY OTHER ATTENDANT, HE AGREED WITH MAIN THRUST OF US ANALYSIS BASED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE'S TALKING POINTS. HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT LIKELIHOOD OF GETTING AN OAU CONSENSUS ON NON-INTERFERENCE AND NATIONAL UNITY RESOLUTIONS, AND CRITICAL OF ALL FOREIGN INTERFERENCE, INCLUDING US. SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION CAUSED THE GURC SPECIAL EMBARRASSMENT, BUT HE CONSIDERED USE OF THIS ISSUE BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS THAT HAVE RECOGNIZED MPLA MAINLY A PRETEXT. HE MADE QUALITATIVE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOVIET PRE-INDEPENDENCE AID TO MPLA AND POST-INDEPENDENCE AID TO A MINORITY IN SOVEREIGN COUNTRY. AHIDJO REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO ANGOLA AS "GRAVE PROBLEM" FOR AFRICA AND WORLD. AHIDJO WAS MORE OUTSPOKEN AGAINST SOVIET INTERVENTION AND MPLA THAN WE EXPECTED HIM TO BE. CAMEROON MAY BE MORE CONSTRUCTIVELY ACTIVE THAN ANTICIPATED AT OAU MEETING, PROVIDING IT HAS SUITABLE COMPANY. END SUMMARY

2. IN MEETING WITH PRESIDENT AHIDJO DECEMBER 30 ASSISTANT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 YAOUND 04314 01 OF 02 301947Z

SECRETARY SCHAUFLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH TALKING POINTS EXPLAINED

US POLICY AND VIEWS ON ANGOLA AND ACTION OAU COULD TAKE. HE STRESSED LACK OF SPECIAL US INTERESTS THERE, US RESPONSIBILITIES AS GLOBAL POWER, US DETERMINATION TO REMAIN INVOLVED IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE NEGOTIATION PROCESS, US DESIRE FOR AFRICAN SOLUTION, NECESSITY TO BLOCK FURTHER AFRICAN RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA AND POSSIBLE ELEMENTS OF OAU HANDLING OF ANGOLAN ISSUE.

3. AFTER ASSISTANT SECRETARY HAD PRESENTED US VIEWS, PRESIDENT AHIDJO STATED THAT US ANALYSIS OF ANGOLAN PROBLEM IS IN CONFORMITY WITH HIS OWN. THE SITUATION WAS REGRETTABLE, AND FURTHER COMPLICATED BY FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS, INCLUDING THOSE BY SOUTH AFRICA, CUBA, THE RUSSIANS, AND THE UNITED STATES (IN THAT ORDER). THE PROBLEM WAS GRAVE FOR ANGOLA, WITH EQUALLY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND FOR ALL OF AFRICA. IT WAS INDEED A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT AS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE INVOLVING THEMSELVES IN AFRICA IN FORCE AFTER THEIR EARLIER EFFORTS TO GAIN INFLUENCE PROVED UNSUCCESSFUL. AHIDJO SEES A DISTINCT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RUSSIAN HELP TO THE MPLA BEFORE AND AFTER ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE. POST-INDEPENDENCE HELP IS TO A MINORITY FACTION, OR A MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN AN INDEPENDENT STATE. AHIDJO THEN REPEATED THAT IT WAS A GRAVE PROBLEM WITHOUT PRECEDENT.

4. THE PRESIDENT STATED FRANKLY THAT CAMEROON WAS EMBARRASSED: BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, THE GURC HAD HELPED ALL THREE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. THIS HAD CONTINUED UNTIL THREE DAYS BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, WHEN THE GURC CALLED FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNION. AHIDJO PERSONALLY HAD NO PREFERENCE AMONG THE THREE, BUT AS A RESULT OF THE FOREIGN INTERVENTION HIS SYMPATHIES ARE WITH THOSE AGAINST WHOM THIS INTERVENTION TAKES PLACE. HE PREFERS DIPLOMATIC ACTION TO RESORTING TO FORCE. THE MPLA WITH RUSSO-CUBAN SUPPORT IS TRYING TO WIN TERRITORY IN ORDER TO CREATE A FAIT ACCOMPLI SO THAT ALL THE OAU RESOLUTIONS WILL BE WORTHLESS. HE AGREED THAT MAINTAINING THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND WAS NECESSARY IF REAL NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO TAKE PLACE. AHIDJO SAID THAT ONLY THE US HAS THE MEANS, AMONG ALL WESTERN STATES, TO RESIST THE MPLA WITH THEIR RUSSIAN AND CUBAN SUPPORT.

5. CAMEROONIAN EMBARRASSMENT DERIVES FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL CAUSES. THE SENATE'S ACTION HAS RAISED DOUBTS ABOUT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 YAOUND 04314 01 OF 02 301947Z

US DETERMINATION AMONG MANY AFRICANS, AND THESE DOUBTS ARE BEING EXPLOITED BY FRIENDS OF THE COMMUNISTS, WHO ALSO ALLEGE THAT THE US IS AFTER THE RICHES OF ANGOLA. HE KNOWS THIS IS NOT TRUE. BUT COUNTRIES LIKE MALI, GUINEA, AND TANZANIA PROPAGATE AND FOLLOW THIS LINE. THEY ALSO SAY THAT IN TERMS OF US-SOVIET COMPETITION, THE ANGOLAN AFFAIR DOES NOT AMOUNT TO MUCH. FOR THE CAMEROON PUBLIC, THE ACTIONS OF CONGRESS AND THE ROLES PLAYED BY OTHERS LIKE FRANCE ARE CONFUSING. WHILE THE PROBLEM IS VERY GRAVE, THE SITUATION,

IN AHIDJO'S OPINION, IS NOT AT ALL LIKE VIETNAM, BUT RATHER A PART OF PRESENT WORLD POLITICS (POLITIQUE MONDIALE) AND SHOULD BE VIEWED IN TERMS OF BREZHNEV'S RECENT REASSERTION OF THE CONTINUATION OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE DURING THE PERIOD OF DETENTE.

6. THE PROBLEM IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION. THE PRESIDENT, IN CONFIDENCE, LIKENED SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF FNLA/UNITA TO AFRICAN FABLE WHICH TEACHES THAT IN A VITAL MATTER ONE MUST BE PREPARED TO USE AN OTHERWISE NEUTRAL ENEMY TO SAVE HIS OWN LIFE. TAKE APARTHEID AWAY, AND THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS HAVE NO MORE RIGHT THAN THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO INTERVENE. CERTAIN STATES, IN GOOD OR IN BAD FAITH, USED SOUTH AFRICA AS THEIR REASON FOR RECOGNIZING THE MPLA. AHIDJO THINKS IN MOST CASES THIS IS PRETEXT AND A SOP TO DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION. HE DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS IS TRUE OF NIGERIA, BUT HE SEEMED TO SUSPECT IT. SIMILARLY, OF CHANA. HE EXPECTS ETHIOPIA TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA SOON, BUT PROBABLY NOT UNTIL AFTER THE OAU MEETING, USING THE SAME PRETEXT. THE FACT THAT A GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THE MPLA GIVES A CLEAR INDICATION OF ITS IDEOLOGICAL POSITION, AS HAS BEEN EVIDENT FOR SOME WEEKSQM

7. THE PRESIDENT IS SENDING HIS FOREIGN MINISTER TO ADDIS FOR THE OAU MEETING. ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION IN FAVOR OF RECONCILIATION AND AGAINST ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION WILL BE USEFUL ONLY IF (1) THE MPLA HAS NOT ALREADY ACQUIRED MORE TERRITORY BY THEN AND (2) IF A MAJORITY OF OAU MEMBERS HAVE NOT RECOGNIZED THE MPLA. UNLESS THESE TWO CONDITIONS ARE MET, NO RESOLUTIONS WILL BE ANY GOOD.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 YAOUND 04314 02 OF 02 302012Z

42

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 064848

O R 301730Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7423

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 YAOUNDE 4314

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO THE SECRETARY

8. THE GURC DELEGATION TO THE OAU WILL GET PRECISE INSTRUCTIONS AGAINST ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION, INCLUDING CUBAN, RUSSIAN, US, ETC. ON THE GLOBAL PLANE, AND THE DIPLOMATIC PLANE, AHIDJO CONSIDERED THIS A DEFENSIBLE POSITION. THIS WAS AN AFRICAN AFFAIR. BUT HE SEEMED TO THINK THAT A MAJORITY OF OAU MEMBERS MIGHT HAVE RECOGNIZED THE MPLA BY THE TIME OF THE MEETING IN JANUARY, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE AGGRESSIVE AGITATION BY ACTIVIST CHEIFS OF STATE LIKE THE PRESIDENTS OF GUINEA, ALGERIA, MALI.

9. ABOVE UNINTERRUPTED EXPOSITION BY AHIDJO, COMBINED WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S BRIEFER INTRODUCTION, TOOK TOTAL OF THIRTY-FIVE MINUTES. REMAINING TWENTY MINUTES OF CONVERSATION CONSISTED OF AHIDJO'S RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY. AHIDJO MADE DISTINCTION BETWEEN GURC AND OTHERS' REACTIONS TO A COUP D'ETAT, WHICH IS AN INTERNAL AFFAIR, AND OUTSIDE INTERVENTION AS IN ANGOLA, WHICH IS QUITE ANOTHER MATTER. ZAIRE SUPPORTED THE FNLA FOR YEARS, AND ZAMBIA GAVE SUPPORT (PRESUMABLY TO UNITA), BUT SOVIET POST-INDEPENDENCE SUPPORT TO THE MINORITY MPLA WAS DIFFERENT.

10. IN RESPONSE TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S QUESTION ABOUT COORDINATION AMONG SYMPATHETIC AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, AHIDJO STATED THAT HE RECOGNIZED COORDINATION AS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 YAOUND 04314 02 OF 02 302012Z

INDISPENSABLE, SUGGESTING THAT IT WAS TAKING PLACE. HE AGREED THAT THEOSE STATES WHICH SHARED HIS VIEWS WILL HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO STICK IT OUT UNTIL THE END AGAINST THE DEMAGOGUERY OF THE PRO-MPLA COUNTRIES. HOWEVER AHIDJO EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT HE HIMSELF WOULD ATTEND OAU SUMMIT.

11. HE BELIEVES THAT NIGERIA IS FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN ANGOLA. IF THE OAU FAILS TO ACHIEVE A WORKABLE RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS, HE WOULD FAVOR TAKING IT TO THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, WHERE THE FOUR OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS WOULD BE ALIGNED AGAINST THE SOVIETS. HE WOULD EXPECT NO GREAT AFRICAN REACTION AGAINST TAKING IT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OR AGAINST THE OTHER FOUR PERMANENT MEMBERS.

12. AHIDJO AGREED WITH THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY THAT MAINTENANCE OF AN EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN THE TWO SUPER-POWERS CARRIED BENEFITS FOR ALL OTHERS.

13. HE AVERTED TO CAMEROON'S HISTORY OF INSURGENCY AND MENTIONED THAT OPPONENTS OF THE GURC WERE TRAINING IN CONGO (B)

WITH COMMUNIST SUPPORT. THE RUSSIANS WILL EVENTUALLY DEMAND PAY FOR ANY HELP THEY ARE GIVING ANYWHERE, THOUGH THEIR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WAS NEGLIGIBLE.

14. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT PUBLIC INTEREST IN ANGOLA AMONG CAMEROONIANS, THE PRESIDENT SPOKE OF SOME PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY IN TOWN ON BEHALF OF THE MPLA, BUT HE DID NOT SEEM WORRIED ABOUT IT.

COMMENT. AHIDJO WAS SURPRISINGLY FORTHCOMING AND BLUNT IN HIS ANALYSIS OF ANGOLAN SITUATION WHICH LARGELY COINCIDES WITH OUR OWN. HE MAINTAINED HIS NEUTRALITY BY ADDING US TO LIST OF THOSE INTERVENING IN ANGOLA BUT ALSO STATED ONLY US COULD BALANCE SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION THERE. IF HIS ASSURANCES ARE BACKED UP BY THE ACTIVITIES OF HIS DELEGATION, CAMEROON CAN BE EXPECTED TO FOLLOW ITS STRICTLY NEUTRAL POLICY AMONG THE THREE MOVEMENTS AND PUSH FOR OAU POSITION SUPPORTING NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. AS IN GABON ONE DISTURBING ELEMENT IS LIKELIHOOD THAT AHIDJO WILL ALSO NOT ATTEND SUMMIT. I WILL PUSH THIS ASPECT HARD IN TALKS WITH HOUPHOUET AND SENGHOR. I HAVE ALSO SUGGESTED IN ANOTHER TELEGRAM TO DEPT THAT A NUDGE IN THIS DIRECTION BE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 YAOUND 04314 02 OF 02 302012Z

INCLUDED IN POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO SELECTED AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE.
SPIRO

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERVENTION, POLICIES, INDEPENDENCE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, RELATIONS WITH REGIONAL ORGS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975YAOUND04314
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840125-1060
From: YAOUNDE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975126/aaaaaeyb.tel
Line Count: 253
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 AUG 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 AUG 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <09 DEC 2003 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANGOLA: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE'S DISCUSSION WITH AMIDJO
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, AO, CM, US, OAU, MPLA, (AHIDJO, AHMADOU), (SCHAUFLE, WILLIAM E)
To: STATE KINSHASA LIBREVILLE SS
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006